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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

4 October 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: William Kirby
Deputy Assistant Secretary for
Middle East Negotiations,
Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
Department of State

FROM:

[redacted]
Chief, Geography Division, OGI

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SUBJECT:

Settlement Policy Under the New
Israeli Government [redacted]

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1. Attached is a memorandum concerning the new Israeli government's recently adopted policy guidelines on settlements in the occupied territories. [redacted]

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2. The research and analysis for the text were done by David B. Jenkins of the Near East Branch, Geography Division, Office of Global Issues. [redacted]

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3. If you have any questions concerning this memorandum, please call me on 351-6226 [redacted]

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Attachment:

Israel: Settlement Policy Under the New Government [redacted]
GI M 84-10171, October 1984 [redacted]

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This memorandum is CONFIDENTIAL [redacted]
when separated from attachment.

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SUBJECT: Israel: Settlement Policy Under the New Government

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Israel: Settlement Policy Under the New Government

Summary

Settlement policy in the occupied territories was one of the main issues that impeded formation of an Israeli national unity government. The settlement guidelines adopted by the government reflect a compromise between Labor and Likud, additionally influenced by economic constraints. The settlers, who believe that the number of planned settlements is far too low, are likely to defy the government by establishing additional "illegal" settlements.

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This memorandum was prepared by [redacted] Geography Division, Office of Global Issues. The information contained herein is updated to 2 October 1984. Comments and questions may be addressed to [redacted] Chief, Near East Branch, Geography Division, [redacted]

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Israel: Settlement Policy Under the New GovernmentBackground

The Labor government established 74 settlements in the territories between 1967 and 1977 (table). Those set up in the West Bank were limited for the most part to the Jordan Valley, the 'Ezyon Bloc, and the Jerusalem vicinity to conform to the Allon Plan--Labor's basis for a territorial compromise. Since coming to power in 1977, the Likud has established nearly twice as many settlements, constructing new ones at the average rate of 20 per year. Some 45 have been established since the US peace initiative of September 1982. Many of the Likud's West Bank settlements have been set up beyond the bounds of the Allon Plan in areas of dense Palestinian population.

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Existing Settlements in the Territories

	<u>West Bank</u>	<u>Golan Heights</u>	<u>Gaza Strip</u>	<u>Jerusalem</u>	<u>Total</u>
Total	<u>157</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>213</u>
Established under Labor (1967-77)	32	28	4	10	74
Established under Likud (1977-84)	125	5	8	1	138

This table is [redacted]

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New Guidelines

The national unity government's basic policy guidelines represent a shift from Likud's expansionist settlement policy of 1977-84. They state:

- ° The existence and development of settlements set up by the [past] governments of Israel will be ensured, and the extent of their development will be determined by the [present] government.

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- ° Five to six settlements will be established within a year. The determination of their names will be made by mutual consent within a week of the date of the establishment of the government¹.
- ° Implementation of the decisions of previous governments on the establishment of as yet unestablished settlements (whose names will be listed in an appendix that will be added within a week of the establishment of the government)¹ will take place in subsequent years, as per a timetable to be determined by the plenum of the national unity government.
- ° The establishment of new settlements will require approval by a majority of the cabinet ministers.

The limited number of settlements to be set up reflects both the Labor Party's position on territorial compromise and economic constraints being imposed on the settlement program.

Likud spokesmen claim that 27 settlements approved by the previous government have yet to be erected. However, an examination of a list of the 27 provided to the Israeli press by Likud reveals that one settlement has had prefab units in place for two years, four appear to be extensions of existing settlements, five already have extensive site preparations, and three are wildcat tent settlements established in the hectic two weeks before the July 23rd election. Several of the 27 Likud-approved settlements have been planned for areas beyond the Allon Plan; therefore consideration of each of these settlements in subsequent years is likely to cause conflict within the national unity government.

According to Israeli press sources, the first of the five to six new settlements to be established this year will be erected close to the Green Line near the Arab town of Tulkarm. This location--in a heavily Arab-populated section of Samaria but close enough to the Green Line to accord with minor border adjustments advocated by Labor in an eventual peace plan--suggests an initial compromise between the two parties. Reportedly, the remaining four to five settlements will be set up within the confines of the Allon Plan.

So far, much of the controversy has been centered on how many new settlements will be established. The expansion of existing settlements, which consumes most of the settlement budget, however, remains another contentious issue. At this time

¹This list has yet to be published.

it is politically impractical for the government to suggest a construction freeze. The next year, however, will probably see some slowdown in housing construction within the large suburban settlements due to budgetary cuts necessitated by Israel's economic crisis. [REDACTED]

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The Settlers

Angered by the government's limited plans, Israeli settlers recently announced formation of a lobby to promote their own settlement ideology. If this proves unsuccessful, settlers are likely to resume establishment of unapproved settlements. Past squatting attempts have often become permanent, and how the government handles the first such incident will be viewed by many as an indication of the government's resolve. The most recent case ended without incident on 15 September, when a group of Gush Emunim settlers from Elon More left an Arab hotel in Nablus after spending one night. Satisfied at the time with making only a statement, they have announced their intention of returning to establish a permanent presence. These and other settlers will probably continue such actions, hoping to generate enough pressure to disrupt the coalition. [REDACTED]

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